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MAY 19TH
COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

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Principles of Unity

of the

May 19th Communist Organization

What We Believe

May 19th is the birthdate of Ho Chi Minh and of El Hajj Malik Shabazz/Malcolm X. We commemorate them as leaders of their nations' struggles for land, independence and socialism. They continue to provide leadership in the worldwide struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism; and for the creation of a world without oppression and exploitation; a world without genocide, white supremacy and war; a world built for the benefit of humanity: a socialist world.

In our lifetime we are witnessing the culmination of thousands of years of struggle against class society. We have seen the collective strength of national liberation forever alter the balance of forces against imperialism. Revolution is the main trend in the world, and revolution is being led, ideologically and on the battlefield, by the national liberation struggles for proletarian power.

We have changed our name to the May 19th Communist Organization out of a commitment to follow that leadership. In this historic period the forces of national liberation are waging war all over the world: in Zimbabwe victory is certain, and that victory will unlock the struggle in the whole region, leading towards the destruction of South Africa and the birth of free Azania which will alter the material basis of worldwide white supremacist domination; in Iran, the glorious struggle of the Iranian people, led by the Organization of the Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas waging the armed struggle, has toppled the bloody dictatorship of the US-backed Shah and advanced the struggle for socialism; in Puerto Rico, an armed clandestine front has emerged within the independence movement that is leading towards full peoples' war.

Within the borders of the US, the struggles of the Black nation, the Native American nations and of the Chicano/Mexicano people are building towards new levels of science, organization and power. It is this war of the oppressed and exploited peoples against imperialism that defines the terms, the direction and the timetable of proletarian revolution in this era.

We have changed our name to the May 19th Communist Organization to acknowledge the struggle of the Vietnamese nation; and in recognition of the Black nation's struggle for liberation within the US as central and decisive in the defeat of US-led imperialism.

The great victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, taught the world that the defeat of the most dangerous and aggressive imperialist power is possible. The Vietnamese people, led by a Marxist-Leninist party guided by a correct political line, won victory through 45 years of protracted people's war. They built a united front against imperialism which mobilized millions of people worldwide in solidarity with their struggle for independence and freedom. The Vietnamese people proved in practice what Ho Chi Minh had fought for in the world communist movement: that in the era of imperialism and victorious socialist revolution, national liberation has become decisive in the worldwide proletarian revolution.

The liberation of the Black nation imprisoned within US borders will sound the death-knell of US-led imperialism. Self-determination, independence and land — these have been the tenets of the Black liberation struggle for 400 years. Today, the political and strategic articulation of that history is revolutionary nationalism, the science of dialectical and historical materialism applied to the concrete conditions of the Black nation. Malcolm X said of revolutionary nationalists: "...but just as the fuse is the smallest part or the smallest piece in the powder keg, it is yet that little fuse that ignites the entire powder keg."

Because Malcolm X embodied revolutionary nationalist leadership for the masses of Black people, he was assassinated by imperialism's murderous COINTELPRO program.

The struggle to free New Afrika has shown the power of Black people against the empire. The heart of that struggle is the fight to free the land, the national territory of the Black nation which comprises the five states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. Black people have acquired a historic and legitimate claim to the land. They have, continuously since the arrival of the first kidnapped Africans, farmed and developed it, and fought to stay on it. Historically and still today, the superexploitation of Black people's labor has formed the backbone of the US empire.

Throughout the history of US imperialism, the Black liberation struggle has exposed the true nature of the system: the struggle of Black people for human rights and against genocide has put the lie to the myth of "liberty and justice for all": the terrorism of the police and of armed white vigilantes in the Black community exposes the brutality that is needed to maintain the system. Most fundamentally, it is the Black liberation struggle which has exposed the relationship between the subjugation of oppressed peoples and the privileges of the oppressor nation. There can be no slaveowners without slaves; there can be no US empire without the continued colonial condition of the Black nation.

The 1960s marked a decisive shift in the contradiction between imperialism and the forces of revolution. The Vietnamese war for national salvation led these forces. The Black and Native American nations and the Chicano/Mexicano people within US borders, and the Puerto Rican nation opened up a second front. Around the world, oppressed people took up arms to defeat imperialism: in

Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique the Portuguese empire was shattered and socialist republics established; in Latin America, the people of Chile, Bolivia, Argentina and Uruguay initiated wars of liberation to free their countries from US-led imperialism and its puppet military dictators; in the Middle East, the Palestinian people emerged as the leadership of the struggle against Zionism, Arab reaction and for the liberation of their homeland. These struggles represented anti-imperialist unity on the highest level. Their impact defined revolutionary anti-imperialism, the realization of Che Guevara's call to "create two, three, many Vietnams," as the correct strategy towards the defeat of US-led imperialism.

Every sector in the world's oppressor nations was forced to respond. Every contradiction within these societies was heightened, and this laid the basis for the emergence of progressive movements among white people in the US and throughout Europe. The anti-war movement, the student movement, the women's movement, the lesbian and gay liberation movements — all of these arose in response to the struggles of the Third World.

We trace the political roots of our organization to that history. It is a history that reflects all of the contradictions of the society it is a part of: white supremacy, American exceptionalism, arrogance. A serious political struggle went on within the mass movements of the sixties, in which a significant anti-imperialist sector struggled to follow the leadership of the national liberation struggles in building revolutionary solidarity. Opposed to this was a sector of the white left which consistently attempted to set its own terms for the struggle. It refused to recognize the reality of Third World leadership — that the student movement grew out of the struggles of Black students in the early 60s; that the struggle for women's liberation is led by the women of the Third World and not by white women in the US. Consistently the white left found it an easier task to recognize national liberation when it was 5,000 miles away than to

organize solidarity with the struggles of oppressed peoples within the US.

The mass movements of the sixties suffered defeat at their own hands by their failure to recognize that no movement can be revolutionary or even progressive if it does not accept the leadership offered by the national liberation struggles. Most of the white left has been reduced to a mirror image of the white oppressor nation as a whole because this lesson was not learned. The white left advocates pacifism in the face of national oppression and genocide; it withholds material aid at a political price; it attempts to deny oppressed people the right to wage armed struggle by condemning national liberation war as "terrorism;" it attacks the consolidation of vanguard forces for revolution as "narrow nationalism." In taking the name May 19th Communist Organization we commit ourselves to the strategy of revolutionary anti-imperialism under the leadership of the national liberation struggles. Our practice will be guided by the principle of the right of oppressed nations to self-determination. We are committed to break with the white left's history of white supremacy and revisionism, and to struggle for the positive lessons of the past 20 years.

The oppressed nations within the US are preparing themselves to wage full-scale people's war against the enemy that has entered its final decline. While US-led imperialism will not disappear and must be overthrown, it will never again reach the heights of power and hegemony that it had after World War II. The determination of oppressed peoples to win their liberation is heightening and will never be defeated.

Imperialism, to survive, must maintain control and defeat these wars of liberation emerging all over the globe. To accomplish this imperialism is strengthening its armed

forces and reorganizing its intelligence apparatus; it is wiping out the gains made in the struggle of Third World people inside the US for national democratic rights; and daily it is heightening the level of police terror against Third World communities. It is heightening, now in the name of "the war against international terrorism," its counter-intelligence program (code name: COINTELPRO) of murder, infiltration and harassment against Third World leaders, movements and entire communities.

Where direct military or political control is not possible, the US has installed puppets as its front-men. In Nicaragua, Zaire, the Philippines, bloodthirsty dictators remain in power because of US support. In other parts of the world, the US uses its economic might to penetrate and influence the political direction of many Third World nations. Increasingly, since Nixon introduced Vietnamization during the war in Southeast Asia, the US strategy has been to find Third World people and countries who will act as "gendarmes" for the interests of US imperialism.

Internally, imperialism is attempting to mobilize the entire white oppressor nation in defense of empire. The imperialist bourgeoisie is leading mass movements aimed at consolidating the support of the white working class. The death penalty, tax reform, "law and order," and the defeat of affirmative action represent a well-orchestrated attempt to identify Third World people as the enemy and source of all contradictions. Increasingly, the white "middle class" is being portrayed as the "victim" in US society. The Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis are the armed shock troops of white supremacy, but every sector among white people is being mobilized as a mass base of support for racist terror, heightened repression and imperialist war. The ability of US imperialism to mobilize and unite the white working class has enabled it to maintain control in its drive for hegemony. This alliance was sealed from the time that Black people were enslaved and white people made the overseers.

The victories of national liberation and the decline of imperialism have had a profound impact on the life of the white oppressor nation. The quality of life is decaying — the rising cost of living, alcoholism, pornography, alienation. The brutality that imperialism directs against the oppressed nations spills over, and becomes a part of the fabric of daily life within the white oppressor nation.

The overall decline in the privileges of empire heightens all of the contradictions within the white oppressor nation. The exploitation and oppression of certain strata — of women, and especially working class women; and of the entire lower stratum of the working class — intensifies, and is the material basis for discontent and rebellion. These contradictions, though, will spontaneously move most white people towards white supremacy and reaction. At the same time, the impact and the example of the national liberation struggles will have a progressive effect on some sectors.

This is historic — we experienced it during the late 60s and early 70s, when the victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people and the rise of the Black liberation struggle pushed many white people to the left: students, progressive intellectuals, women. The task of white communists is to exploit these contradictions, organizing among those sectors for revolutionary consciousness.

These contradictions define our tasks in this period. We must oppose the consolidation of reactionary forces. We must organize all who can be organized within the oppressor nation, and in particular within the white working class, to provide material aid and political solidarity to the national liberation struggles. Any revolutionary movement of white people within the US must be under the leadership of the national liberation struggles, and must be prepared to fight alongside national liberation against US-led imperialism, to free the subjugated nations. This is both an urgent and a difficult responsibility, and demands that we scientifically analyze the white oppressor nation in all of its

aspects: who are friends and who are enemies.

We are a Marxist-Leninist organization committed to the following principles:

1. We believe that the principal contradiction in the world today is between the national liberation struggles and U.S.-led imperialism. The struggle of oppressed nations for land, independence and socialism leads the proletarian revolution worldwide.

The victory of the revolutions in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos is the defining event of our era, sending US imperialism into its final decline. The highest point of world revolutionary struggle has shifted to Southern Africa: in Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe where people's war is being waged against imperialism. The defeat of white settler colonialism — in Southern Africa, in Palestine and within the borders of the US — will mark the next qualitative defeats for imperialism and worldwide white supremacy, and will resolve the principal contradiction in those areas in favor of national liberation.

2. The US is an empire, which holds within its illegitimate borders the Black nation; many Native American nations; the Chicano / Mexicano people; and which colonizes the nation of Puerto Rico. We support the struggle of the Black Nation for the right to self-determination, which in practice means the establishment of a Black state within its national territory; the struggle of Native American nations for sovereignty; and the struggle of Puerto Rico for independence and socialism. "All revolutions are fought for land and political power," (Malcolm X) and it is the struggles of these oppressed peoples for liberation that defines the content of revolutionary class struggle in the US.

Lenin defined the characteristic feature of imperialism as the division of the world into a small number of oppressor nations and a large number of oppressed nations. There exists within the borders of the US a white oppressor nation, forged through centuries of subjugation of oppressed peoples. The white oppressor nation is a parasite on the Third World, and the liberation of the nations held captive within US borders will mean its destruction.

3. We are committed to the principle of Third World leadership. In the era of imperialism it is the national liberation struggles who lead in the development of revolutionary ideology and in the waging of war against imperialism. No movement within the oppressor nation can be revolutionary or even progressive if it does not accept and follow that leadership, politically and strategically.

The task of white communists is to build political and material solidarity with the leading forces for revolution. Concrete practice can be the only principled basis of solidarity by white people with the national liberation struggles.

4. Armed struggle is the fundamental tool of oppressed people to win their liberation. We fully support, both politically and materially, the waging of national liberation war against imperialism. Around the world and in the US, vanguard forces will emerge and have done so through the building of armed clandestine movements and the waging of people's war. A central aspect of our support is the active defense of all political prisoners and prisoners of war captured by the imperialist state.

The waging of armed struggle is the responsibility of all true revolutionaries, and so we commit ourselves to fulfilling our fundamental task, to wage war against the enemy for the final defeat of US imperialism.

5. The revolutionary struggle for women's liberation is an integral part of the struggle against imperialism. It is

led by the women of the Third World, who are winning their liberation on the battlefield, at war against US imperialism, feudalism, colonialism, neocolonialism and male supremacy.

Women of the white oppressor nation have a contradictory relationship to imperialism: on the one hand, privileged as members of that nation; on the other, suffering oppression under the system of male supremacy. We commit ourselves to struggling to resolve that contradiction in a revolutionary direction by building an anti-imperialist women's movement within the white oppressor nation, under the leadership of the national liberation struggles, to fight against imperialism and for the liberation of women.

The oppression of lesbians is key to the continued oppression of all women. We fully support the struggle against lesbian oppression. We support the struggle against gay oppression, which is linked to the overall struggle against male supremacy and for the liberation of women.

6. All white people are privileged in relationship to Third World people, based in our membership in the white oppressor nation and in our alliance with imperialism. These privileges form the material basis for the system of white supremacy worldwide. We oppose white supremacy in all its forms, and believe that the struggle against white supremacy is the key task of all progressive movements within the white oppressor nation.

7. White privilege is the material basis for bourgeois ideology within the US. We oppose racism, national chauvinism, male chauvinism and all forms of bourgeois ideology. As communists we are committed to waging criticism self-criticism to defeat bourgeois ideology within our own ranks and to transform our world outlook.

8. Revisionism is the main danger in the world communist movement. It has split that movement, and is led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We oppose it because, in practice, revisionism means the abandonment of the proletarian internationalist duty to aid the national liberation struggles. Revisionist nations have abandoned all support for armed struggle as the strategy for liberation and have overturned the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the key factor guiding the construction of socialism.

Another form of revisionism is the "three worlds theory" which denies the leading role of national liberation in defeating imperialism, and which has allowed great nation chauvinism to dominate the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. We oppose this, as well as the increasing attacks on the significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and on the revolutionary leadership of Mao Tse Tung.

The main danger within the progressive movements of the white oppressor nations is opportunism, which is based in white supremacy and in the liquidation of the right of oppressed nations to self-determination. This had led, within the US in particular, to collaboration with the imperialist state against "terrorism"; an abandonment of armed struggle; the rejection of Third World leadership; and, in essence, an abandonment in practice of fighting imperialism.

9. We are revolutionaries within the white oppressor nation of the US empire, committed to the final defeat of US-led imperialism, and to the building of a socialist world under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Within the US, this will be led by the Third World proletariat. Our science is Marxism-Leninism, the science of the oppressed and exploited for revolution.

We are committed to building communist organiza-

tion as the only way in which white communists can implement these principles, and thereby be capable of participating in the defeat of the greatest enemy of the people of the world, US imperialism.

What We Do

Our principle task is supporting, both politically and with material aid, the wars of national liberation, outside and within the borders of the US. It is through such a program that a revolutionary force in the oppressor nation can be galvanized to participate in the defeat of US-led imperialism and in the creation of socialism. For the working class, for the progressive and revolutionary sectors of the white oppressor nation, revolutionary struggle is determined by the strategy and demands of the national liberation struggles. It is under this leadership that movements of revolutionary anti-imperialist solidarity must be built.

We organize in solidarity with the worldwide Black liberation struggle. Inside the US we support the Black nation's right to self-determination and its ultimate goal of independence and freedom through the liberation of the national territory. To contribute to the achievement of that goal we organize in support of the struggle for human rights, against genocide and chemical warfare.

A priority is the exposure of the US government's counter-intelligence program and activities mounted against Third World movements. We are participating in a suit against the FBI and other governmental agencies. Its aim is to educate and organize white people as to why US-led imperialism must use counter-intelligence to maintain its rule and to concretely contribute to freeing Afrikan prisoners of war. We do political defense work in support of the Republic of New Afrika 11, Assata Shakur, Geronimo Pratt, Sundiata Acoli, Jomo Joka Omawale (Cleveland Davis). We support the struggle of prisoners against genocidal conditions, the death penalty and for human rights and liberation. The prison struggle is part of the overall struggle for national liberation and is key in the destruction of imperialism.

We are raising material aid for the people of Zimbabwe fighting under the leadership of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) to liberate their country. The total defeat of the white supremacist regime of Ian Smith is at hand. This means a redoubling of our efforts in raising material aid and exposing the support of the Smith regime and the internal settlement by US-led imperialism. Raising material aid is a concrete way that white people can contribute to the defeat of white settler colonialism in Southern Africa.

The nation of Puerto Rico is fighting for independence and socialism. We are committed to build a solidarity movement under the leadership of revolutionary forces in Puerto Rico and the US; to support the heightening war of liberation; to free the seven Puerto Rican prisoners of war: Lolita Lebron, Irvin Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Oscar Collazo, William Guillermo Morales, Nydia Cuevas, and Pablo Marcano; and to support the struggle against police repression in Puerto Rican communities in the US.

Contradictions between US-led imperialism and forces of revolution are heightening in the Middle East. The revolutionary struggle in Iran is advancing. Under the leadership of the Organization of Iranian Peoples' Fedayee Guerillas, the people of Iran are fighting to defeat US-led imperialism and establish a socialist society. We support this struggle through political agitation and material aid.

In Southern Africa, Puerto Rico, Iran, inside the US, the ultimate weapon to defeat US-led imperialism is armed struggle and waging people's war. In our practice of solidarity with national liberation struggles we must address and build support for the armed vanguards of these movements.

It is only through a conscious fight against white supremacy that any significant number of white people can be organized. No matter where we have organized, in the community, in the women's movement, amongst young people or in waging struggle in the left against opportunism and revisionism, what has emerged is the need to educate and organize to expose the fabric of white supremacy that holds the oppressor nation together. We do this through community organizing against the shock troops of white supremacy: the KKK, the Nazi Party, ROAR and others; against police brutality; and in support of the national democratic rights of oppressed peoples. In organizing women, the tasks facing us are no different. In our communities, where we work, and within the women's and lesbian movement, the central issue for struggle has been and continues to be what is the relationship of the liberation of white women to the struggle to defeat imperialism and the leadership of the national liberation struggles. By waging struggle with women to support Zimbabwe, by building a campaign against genocide we are organizing against white supremacy, in solidarity with national liberation as the path to the liberation of white women.